

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 01041 01 OF 02 281653Z

43

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 IO-14 SAM-01 DRC-01 AID-20 /154 W

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P R 281619Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 209

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1041

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PFOR, PO

SUBJECT: ZAMBIA ASKS USG TO CONSIDER CONTACT WITH
FRELIMO LEADERSHIP

REF: STATE 110567

1. SUMMARY. AMBASSADOR CALLED ON MARK CHONA AT STATE HOUSE MAY 28 TO CONVEY USG FAVORABLE REACTION TO ZAMBIA'S 10-POINT FRAMEWORK FOR LIBERATION OF PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES AND TO INQUIRE ABOUT LATEST QUARTERLY MEETING OF HEADS OF STATE OF ZAIRE, ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA REGARDING UNIFICATION OF LIBERATION GROUPS (LUSAKA 1030 AND 1005). CHONA MADE PLEA FOR US APPRECIATION OF SAMORA MACHEL'S QUALITIES AS LEADER OF FRELIMO; URGED HIGH-LEVEL CONTACT WITH "FUTURE PRESIDENT" OF FREE MOZAMBIQUE. ALSO ARGUED AGAINST REFERENDA IN PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES, DEPRECIATED COREMO AND GUMO, DECLARED FICO DANGEROUS, AND EXPRESSED SATISFACTION ANGOLAN GROUPS
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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 01041 01 OF 02 281653Z

MOVING TOWARD CONSENSUS ZAMBIA DUBIOUS ABOUT SMITH-MUZOREWA

TALKS. END SUMMARY.

2. CHONA DESCRIBED MACHEL AS MODEST, HUMBLE, SIMPLE MAN, STRONG IN MORAL FIBER AND PRINCIPLE. IF HE WERE NOT, PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND KAUNDA WOULD NOT BE BACKING HIM. FRELIMO NOT RPT NOT JUST AN EFFECTIVE MILITARY COMBAT ORGANIZATION AND A WORTHY OPPONENT OF PORTUGUESE MILITARY, BUT A POLITICAL PARTY RESPECTED BY ZAMBIA'S UNIP AND TANZANIA'S TANU WITH REAL SENSE OF MISSION AND AN ORGANIZATION CAPABLE OF LAYING A BASE FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE.

3. CHONA STRESSED MACHEL'S HUMANITARIANISM, SAYING WHILE FRELIMO INFILTRATED WITH PORTUGUESE AGENTS MACHEL HAD REFUSED URGING TO EXECUTE THEM. IN CONTRACT COREMO HAD KILLED SIX CIVILIANS IN COLD BLOOD.

4. SAMORA MACHEL THEN DESCRIBED AS DEFINITELY NOT RPT NOT A COMMUNIST AND NOT SUSCEPTIBLE TO EITHER RUSSIAN OR CHINESE POLITICAL INFLUENCE. CHONA SAID RUSSIANS ALWAYS MADE MISTAKE OF BETTING ON INDIVIDUALS WHILE CHINESE WERE MORE CLEVER, PUTTING THEIR FAITH IN SYSTEMS, NOT NECESSARILY MEN. CHONA SEES RUSSIANS AS REPEATEDLY HAVING FALLEN INTO ERROR OF PROMOTING DICTATORSHIPS.

5. I ASKED CHONA IF SAMORA MACHEL AND FRELIMO WERE CONCERNED ABOUT ANXIETIES AND POTENTIAL ENMITY OF WHITES IN MOZAMBIQUE; HAD THEY MADE ANY BRIDGES IN THEIR DIRECTION IN HOPES OF SUPPORT? CHONA AGREED THIS A SERIOUS MATTER OF CONCERN TO NYERERE AND KAUNDA, WHO VERY MUCH WANT PEACEFUL, STABLE NEIGHBOR. SAID SAMORA MACHEL CONCERNED THAT WITH INDEPENDENCE INTERNAL FRICTIONS COULD INTENSIFY, ESPECIALLY BETWEEN RACES, BUT HE FRUSTRATED IN HIS EFFORTS AT CONTACT BECAUSE OF "SAG PROPAGANDA WALL" WHICH HAD EFFECTIVELY SEALED OFF WHITE COMMUNITY. PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAD URGED SAMORA MACHEL TO CONSIDER INCLUDING WHITES IN CABINET AND OTHER HIGH GOVERNMENT POSTS AS ZAMBIA HAD DONE FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE. CHONA ASSURED ME SAMORA MACHEL SYMPATHETIC TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 01041 01 OF 02 281653Z

MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY. REFERRED IN FAVORABLE MANNER TO SOARES DE MELO AS LIKELY NEXT GOVGEN OF MOZAMBIQUE.

6. CHONA WAVED COREMO AND GUMO ASIDE AS OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE WITH LIMITED FOLLOWING AND MORE INTERESTED IN PUBLICITY THAN CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION. AS FOR FICO, HE CONSIDERED IT A DANGEROUS AND DIVISIVE ELEMENT.

7. CHONA REVERTED TO EARLIER CRITICISM OF A REFERENDUM IN MOZAMBIQUE. WHO WOULD POLICE IT AND GUARANTEE SECURITY OF FRELIMO LEADERS? THIS IS ONE REASON WHY FRELIMO IS NOT RPT NOT YET PREPARED TO LAY DOWN ITS ARMS. HE ASKED WHY CANNOT SPINOLA GOVERNMENT SET UP A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE. FRELIMO'S WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE IS UNQUESTIONED, BUT IT REQUIRES AN AUTHORITY CALL FROM THE PORTUGUESE AND A CLEAR STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLE ON FUTURE PORTUGUESE INTENTIONS. IS DEMOCRACY TO BE LIMITED TO THE METROPOLE?

8. AT CONCLUSION OF OUR CONVERSATION ON MOZAMBIQUE, CHONA VERY POINTEDLY SAID HE HOPED UNITED STATES WOULD MAKE REAL EFFORT TO BROADEN AND DEEPEN ITS ASSESSMENT OF FRELIMO AND ITS LEADERSHIP. HE UNDERSTOOD OUR PAST INABILITY TO LEND MATERIAL SUPPORT TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS DURING THE GUERRILLA WAR BUT HE FELT EVERY DAY SINCE THE PORTUGUESE COUP WAS LOST TIME WITHOUT FREQUENT, HIGH LEVEL CONTACTS WITH LIBERATION LEADERS SUCH AS SAMORA MACHEL. CHONA SAID PRESIDENT KAUNDA "INTENDS TO CALL YOU IN SOON TO GIVE YOU HIS OWN, PERSONAL ASSESSMENT OF THE FRELIMO LEADER." HE HOPED I WOULD BE ABLE TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH FRELIMO LEADERS HERE "THROUGH THE TANZANIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER."

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 01041 02 OF 02 281701Z

43

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1041

9. I EXPLAINED OUR POLICY ON CONTACTS WITH LEADERS OF LIBERATION GROUPS, NOTING THAT PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY WAS IN DAR WHERE FRELIMO WAS HEADQUARTERED BUT THAT OUR US CONSUL HERE HAD CONTACTS WITH FRELIMO AND OTHER LIBERATION REPRESENTATIVES IN LUSAKA.

10. WHEN I ASKED IF FRELIMO WAS REPRESENTED IN US, CHONA WAS NOT SURE. I MENTIONED COREMO APPEARED TO BE THERE AND SEEKING CONTACT. CHONA INSISTED CONTACTS WITH FRELIMO MUST BE AT CHIEF OF MISSION LEVEL IN FIELD, EMPHASIZING THAT ONE YEAR OF CONTACT WITH A FUTURE LEADER OF A NEW AFRICAN NATION WAS HARDLY ENOUGH FOR A POWER LIKE THE US. CHONA SAID SAMORA MACHEL ASKED DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO LUSAKA WHY USG COULD NOT HAVE CONFIDENCE IN FRELIMO.

11. CHONA MADE MENTION OF THE PLANE INCIDENT IN MOZAMBIQUE WITH US AND UK ATTACHES ABROAD AND ADMIRAL BEIRMAN'S VISIT TO THE US. THESE INCIDENTS -- PARTICULARLY THE FIRST --
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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 01041 02 OF 02 281701Z

TROUBLED SAMORA MACHEL AND WERE HARD FOR HIM AS WELL AS SOME ZAMBIANS TO UNDERSTAND. THEY RAISED QUESTIONS REGARDING US SYMPATHIES BEFORE POLITICAL LINES WERE CLEARLY DRAWN.

12. IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION, CHONA SAID JORGE JARDIM BECOMING "INCREASINGLY IRRELEVANT." TRUE, HE HAD A VISION WHICH WAS CORRECT BUT EVENTS HAD OVERTAKEN HIM. LATER IN CONVERSATION HE WAS CRITICAL OF JARDIM FOR HAVING WAITED FROM FEBRUARY UNTIL MAY 20 TO PUBLISH IN NOTICIAS AN ARTICLE FAVORABLE TO AND IN SUPPORT OF SAMORA MACHEL. (COMMENT: CHONA'S TONE AND REMARKS SUGGEST THE ZAMBIAN HONEYMOON WITH JARDIM MAY HAVE ENDED.)

13. CHONA LIMITED HIS REMARKS ON ANGOLA TO HIS SATISFACTION OVER MOVEMENT THERE TOWARD IMPROVED COORDINATION AMONG LIBERATION GROUPS SO THAT A CONSENSUS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE WHEN TIME COMES FOR TALKS WITH PORTUGUESE. HE SAID PEREGRINATIONS ALL OVER AFRICA, EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE OF MPLA'S AGUSTINHO NETO PROVED HE HAD NO BASE OR REAL FOLLOWING. HE DENIED ZAMBIA HAD BEEN A LAST HOLDOUT IN OAU RECOGNITION OF UNITA.

14. REGARDING THE SOUTH AFRICANS, CHONA NOTED VORSTER'S

CONFIRMATION ON BUCKLEY'S TV SHOW IN THE US CONFIRMING
5,000 POLICE TROOPS IN RHODESIA AND RAISED SEVERAL
RHETORICAL QUESTIONS. WHY DOES THE SAG CONTINUE
THIS THREAT TO SECURITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA? WHY DOESN'T
THE SAG REREAD THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO TO SEE HOW
DIFFERENTLY THE AFRICANS VIEWED THE PORTUGUESE
TERRITORIES FROM THE "WHITE REDOUBT." HE SAID
SAMORA MACHEL HAD NO INTENTION OF DESTROYING
CABORA BASSA DAM OR ABANDONING IT; RATHER WOULD
ALLOW WORK TO GO FORWARD BECAUSE IT WAS IN
MOZAMBIQUE'S INTEREST. CHONA THOUGHT THE SAG HAD ADMITTED A
MEASURE OF DEFEAT IN CEASING ITS BROADCASTS
IN CHECHEWA AND SWAHILI TO MOZAMBIQUE. THEY COULD
GO A STEP FURTHER IN STOPPING REFERENCES TO LIBERATION
MOVEMENTS AS "TERRORISTS."

15. ON RHODESIA CHONA UNDERSTOOD TALKS IN PROGRESS
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PAGE 03 LUSAKA 01041 02 OF 02 281701Z

BETWEEN SMITH AND MUZOREWA AND THAT REPRESENTATION
WAS A KEY ISSUE. HE QUESTIONED MUZOREWA'S CREDENTIALS OR
"MANDATE" TO SPEAK FOR ALL LIBERATION FORCES. HE FELT
MUZOREWA INTERESTED IN SOMETHING CONSIDERABLY LESS
THAN 18 ADDITIONAL SEATS FOR TOTAL OF 34 FOR BLACK AFRICANS
IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY -- PUTTING THEM "ON THE WAY
TOWARD A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY," ANYTHING LESS WOULD NOT RPT NOT
BE ACCEPTABLE TO SIHOLE FACTION AND OTHERS WHOM
ZAMBIA SEEMS TO FAVOR FOR LEADERSHIP ROLE.
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